

S 2248

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

February 20, 1967

various Federal loan and grant-in-aid programs to improve the quality of urban and rural life through improved comprehensive development planning, programming, and coordination among and between Federal agencies, States, regions, metropolitan areas, and local governments, and to encourage greater coordination between States and their political subdivisions in the planning and programming of Federal loan and grant-in-aid programs, and for other purposes: Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. MILLER.

Authority of February 7, 1967:

S.J. Res. 30. Joint resolution to establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to astronauts who lose their lives in line of duty in the U.S. space program: Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HILL, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota.

Authority of February 8, 1967:

S. 913. A bill to amend part III of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for the recording of trust agreements and other evidences of equipment indebtedness of water carriers, and for other purposes: Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. MORTON, and Mr. YARBOROUGH.

S. 915. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center: Mr. METCALF, and Mr. TYDINGS.

S. 917. A bill to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes: Mr. MUNDT, Mr. TYDINGS, and Mr. YARBOROUGH.

S.J. Res. 32. Joint resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Urban Affairs: Mr. JAVITS.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Paul F. Markham, of Massachusetts, to be U.S. attorney, district of Massachusetts, for the term of 4 years, vice W. Arthur Garrity, Jr.

William F. Malchow, of Minnesota, to be U.S. marshal, district of Minnesota, term of 4 years, vice Ray H. Hemenway, resigned.

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Monday, February 27, 1967, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearings which may be scheduled.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

Rutherford M. Poats, of Virginia, to be Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development.

Maurine B. Neuberger, of Oregon, to be a member of the General Advisory

Committee of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. BYRD of Virginia:

Editorial entitled "Teaching of Morality Has Not Been Tabooed," written by David Lawrence and published in the U.S. News & World Report of February 13, 1967.

Editorial entitled "Again, the Big Squander Bill," published in the Ledger-Star of Monday, February 13, 1967.

By Mr. METCALF:

Editorial entitled "Big Trees, Small Plans," relating to proposed Redwood Creek National Park, published in the New York Times of February 19, 1967.

Editorial entitled "A Challenge to Citizens," published in the Western News, Hamilton, Mont., January 18, 1967.

Article entitled "The Next 25 Years," written by Lee C. White, Chairman, Federal Power Commission, and published in the magazine Public Power for January 1967.

THE CIA AND THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I have noted with considerable concern the continuing controversy over the CIA's financial assistance to the National Student Association and other organizations that participate in international conferences.

It would be preferable if private sources would provide the funds for students and others to attend international conferences, or if some Government agency other than the CIA would do so. When this assistance by the CIA was first given to the National Student Association, no other source of assistance was available. Thus, if the CIA had not provided the funds, the Communist students would have completely dominated the international conferences.

I am not one who believes it is all wrong for students and others to receive some guidance and information from the CIA as to how international conferences are manipulated by the Communists. Not many people realize that no student can enroll in the Moscow University or other universities in Russia unless he has been thoroughly indoctrinated in the Communist philosophy and is a dedicated Communist.

Russia and other Communist nations have a one-party system and only one viewpoint. Thus, their students and others attending international conferences present one united viewpoint, and they are financed by their governments.

Our system of government and our philosophy are entirely different. We have a two-party system and many factions within these parties. Thus, we do not always present a united front at international conferences. The National Student Association, as well as others,

does not always support the official position of our country.

The CIA has made some mistakes, but the good it does far outweighs any errors. If we are to survive in this troubled world and counter the operations of the Russian KGB, we need the CIA—and badly. It should be remembered that the CIA operations are directed and controlled by the President of the United States and the National Security Council. It also receives guidance, direction, and supervision from a committee of private citizens appointed by the President, as well as by the Bureau of the Budget and committees of Congress.

Mr. President, one of the best editorials I have read with reference to this recent controversy over the CIA appeared in the Sunday Star of February 19, 1967, and was entitled "What Are We Trying To Do to the CIA?" I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WHAT ARE WE TRYING TO DO TO THE CIA?

It is just possible, if we all manage to work ourselves into a wild enough lather, that the current flap over the CIA can be escalated to the point where it will destroy the nation's intelligence organization. It almost seems that this is what some of the breast-beaters would like to do.

One day we have a disclosure that a student organization has been receiving covert funds so that young Americans can compete with young Communists at world student meetings. Then, suddenly, nothing will do but that every traceable operation of the CIA must be laid bare to public view, commented upon in tones of pious horror, investigated, sermonized, deplored and punished, until the terrible guilt of it all has been established for all time, for all the world to see.

And what, precisely, are we guilty of? Why, of using our wits and available means to compete in a battle just as real, dirty and deadly serious as any shooting war in which we could engage.

Confronted by adversaries who threw the full power and wealth of the state into the effort to mold and control world opinion, we did not abandon the field to them. Instead, we devoted some public funds to seeing to it that Americans could confront the totalitarians in the intellectual lists abroad, speaking their minds in representing the views of a relatively free society.

It worked, incidentally. A wide variety of Americans, most of whom never knew the source of the funds backing them, proved more than able over the years to hold their own in confrontation with disciplined, professional Communist agents. They prevented the takeover of numerous international organizations and established others which have contributed substantially to the global cause of freedom.

Consider, for example, the experience of Gloria Steinem, as interestingly reported in yesterday's Washington Post. A New York writer, Miss Steinem was director of something called "The Independent Research Service," which took CIA money to send several hundred young Americans to World Youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962.

Miss Steinem said she worked closely with CIA agents on the program, but that few of the students who took those trips knew that the CIA was picking up the tab.

"I never felt I was being dictated to at all," she said. "I found them (the CIA men with whom she worked) liberal and far-sighted and open to an exchange of ideas."

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February 20, 1967

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S 2249

... They wanted to do what we wanted to do—present a healthy, diverse view of the United States."

She was backed up by Dennis Shaul, another spokesman for the organization, who said: "We had Minnesota schoolteachers who were further right than Bill Buckley as well as members of Students for a Democratic Society. Nobody told them what to do."

Bear in mind, except for such American participation financed by CIA funds, these festivals were completely dominated by Communists, all financed and controlled by their governments. Yet, says Shaul, "The Helsinki festival was a disaster from their point of view, and I think we can take a good deal of credit for that."

Well now, why not? Is this really something that has to be apologized for? Who is corrupted by such an operation? Who would have paid the Americans' expenses, if the CIA hadn't?

"The CIA," says Miss Steinem, "was the only (organization) with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important." And here, the lady puts her finger on an important point.

Of course, it would have been better if this sort of thing could have been done without subterfuge. It is too bad that private funds were not available for these purposes. It would have been healthier, lacking such private sources, for our government to have appropriated openly the necessary monies, through the State Department, U.S. Information Agency or some other "respectable" organization. Even though no such alternative may have been available when these programs were initiated in the early 1950s, it would have been advisable to switch them away from CIA support as soon as that became possible.

No one, moreover, can possibly defend all the details of any one of these operations. No doubt there have been messy procedures which, when exposed, prove embarrassing. There is, one inevitably recalls, a saying about making omelettes and breaking eggs.

What is beyond comprehension in all this, however, is the monumental naivete involved in the apparent shock reaction, to these disclosures on the part of otherwise knowledgeable people. After all, what have the outraged gentlemen supposed was going on all this time on the sprawling acres out at Langley? Of all the endeavors of the CIA, the effort to create outlets abroad for the expression of American opinion must surely rank as one of the milder. This is not, be it noted, a tea party that we have been engaged in. This is a viciously contested undercover war against shrewd, dedicated enemies who happen to be quite unhampered by nice-Nellie scruples. The need to press this fight has all along been recognized by the top leadership of the country. The procedures that suddenly evoke such outraged reactions were not dreamed up privately by the CIA. They were directed from the top, and properly so.

The idea that an organization like the CIA can conduct its operations while restrained by a sort of daisy-chain of clergymen, den mothers and liberal politicians—such a notion is simply absurd. For our part, we hope that the present hysteria will be calmed with a rational inquiry conducted by responsible and realistic men who have some knowledge of the very serious problems involved. We are inclined to suspect that they, and the public, will end up concluding that the world has not, after all, ended—and that, in doing a job which had to be done, our intelligence organization has not done too badly.

Mr. STENNIS subsequently said: Mr. President, I have before me an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 19, 1967, entitled "What Are We Trying To Do to the CIA?"

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] has received unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Record, and I join with him in my very strong endorsement of this editorial, and I recommend that every Member of this body read it.

I shall try to answer at this time, very briefly, "What Are We Trying To Do to the CIA?" I believe that some groups are consciously trying to destroy the CIA. That is exactly what will result because of their activities. I believe, too, that others, not consciously but because they do not know the facts, can well contribute to rendering the CIA incapable of meeting the very important and necessary mission that it has.

I do not object, of course, and would never object, to some examination of its activities in a proper way. But to attempt to treat that department as other departments of the Government are treated is to totally miss the goal of what its mission is and to destroy it.

Mr. President, the CIA has made a great contribution during its lifetime. I know of outstanding illustrations, which I cannot divulge in an open session. The CIA has contributed in a very substantial way, both in saving money and in gaining information that was valuable, far beyond any figure in terms of money itself.

I think we are treading on very dangerous ground. If we continue in this manner and do not channel this matter into a proper examination of whatever Congress wishes to develop as to the facts—if we do not channel the matter into a proper pattern—we will have demonstrated beyond all doubt our incapacity to carry on what has become an essential function of government. In other words, if you are going into the business of collecting information, you have to go where the information is, and you have to resort to methods that are effective, whether you approve of those methods or not.

I hope that the American people will exercise care and caution and restraint before they jump to conclusions, and that they will judge this matter finally upon the real facts.

Mr. President, I have an article written by the columnist William S. White, which appeared in the February 18 issue of the Washington Post, entitled "Delay Verdict Till Evidence Is In," and I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UNFAIR TO CIA—DELAY VERDICT TILL EVIDENCE IS IN

(By William S. White)

This country's many articulate victims of the great ultraliberal syndrome of our time—that is, a quivering fever of conviction that this Government is inevitably wrong in any conceivable attempt to set off any really tough backfire to the fires of Communist subversion—have again automatically convicted the poor old Central Intelligence Agency.

CIA's crime this time is the disclosure first made by a violently left-wing and bitterly anti-Vietnam war little magazine called Ramparts, that for some 14 years the Agency has been giving financial assistance to anti-Communist or non-Communist student groups who seek to resist the incomparably more heavily financed Communist program

to indoctrinate the universities everywhere and to dominate any and all student conferences on Cold War issues.

Not all of the facts are yet at hand, but the liberal-syndrome verdict of guilty as charged is, of course, already in before the jury has even entered the box. The jury is a group of three officials headed by Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach which has been charged by the President to look into this business—into all the facts, and not simply into such facts or alleged facts as the lefties have seen fit to produce.

The President's instructions are for a review of any governmental activity that might endanger the independence of the educational community. But the President's instructions do not stop there. For he recalls as well "the great need of American private organizations to participate in the world community." "Other countries," he observes, "provide substantial subsistence for such activity."

What this means is that for decades the Communists have provided a "substantial subsidy" to every kind of world student convocation so that they could pack these supposedly open discussions with their own people. On the evidence now available, what CIA has mainly been doing is providing the means to non-Communist students to attend these student conferences and offer a point of view different from that of the Communists.

If this turns out to be the truth of the business, and if it turns out that CIA has not mortally corrupted American youth by helping it to participate in student convocations that would otherwise have been totally controlled by Communist stooges, it will be difficult for some people to believe that a capital offense has been committed here.

For the long-observable truth is that Communist money for the indoctrination of students both here and abroad has been most lavishly expended. Any rational man can see as much when he looks at some of the so-called "student demonstrations" which have been occurring on some American campuses under the undoubted leadership of pro-Chinese Communist forces.

But if we want to look at the whole matter of "subsidy" with any honesty we also want to look well beyond what the CIA alone has done. Some of the largest and most prestige-laden of American foundations have for years undeniably offered much shelter to writers and others whose opposition to any strong stand anywhere to Communist expansionism is perfectly clear on the record.

Now, in this columnist's opinion, this is no crime; for there is nothing in the law or in American tradition to forbid multibillion-dollar foundations to give the better of it to the left if they so choose. But it is a little silly to suppose that this form of Foundation money is absolutely chaste or even absolutely private. The simple fact is that it, too, is very near to being public money—that is to say Government money—for had it not all been poured into precisely these foundations a very great part of it would have been quite rightfully seized by Government tax collectors.

The central point of this piece, however, is simply this: There is a spreading American characteristic of self-indictment, alike of our Government under any President and of our national motives at any time, that amounts to a national neurosis.

So let us not for a moment exculpate the CIA; but let us on the other hand be willing to wait for all the evidence before consigning it to the outer darkness.

PROPOSED CONSULAR CONVENTION

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in common with all Members of this body, this Senator has been giving a great deal of attention to the developments relating to the proposed Consular Convention be-